new masses

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You're wrong about the farmers

by
LEM HARRIS

JEWS BARRED, NAZIS ADMITTED

by
Virginia Gardner

Thought Control: they tried it before

by
John Howard Lawson

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just a minute

THIS will do your heart good, and we want to pass it on to you. By this time you know the tribulations of a publication like ours for we are not backward in keeping you posted. We want you to know the triumphs as well as the hardships. As you realize, NEW MASSES is an institution, not a business—at least not according to the premises that guide the editors of, say, the *Saturday Evening Post* or *Collier's*. We cannot measure our advances or setbacks by adding machine, even though our business manager is expert at one, as well he must be for a publication that does not jerk to east or west at the frown or smile of the advertiser.

NM lives because it adheres to truth and fights for the common man. Because of that, many who do not see eye to eye with us on certain political issues or on our ultimate socialist perspective support our publication. They know we are an integral part of the democratic front in America, and they will not be swerved from that position by the hue and cry of the Mississippi demagogue.

This fact is regularly riveted down by the dogged existence of NM despite all backbreaking obstacles. Latest confirmation of this reality came in the form of our annual California art auction held the other week in Beverly Hills, Calif. We have been holding these shows and auctions in New York and Hollywood for about a decade: this one topped them all. It was best because more artists than ever in our history contributed paintings for the show, and best because more persons came to the show than ever before (about 2,000).

We wish to thank them all—artists (some 175 American, European and Mexican) and art lovers—a cross-section of the California community who have come to expect the most exciting art at NM's exhibits.

And we want to hand the freshest posy available to Joseph Foster, who has been the man responsible for our shows' successes. Foster, one of the best liked writers among NM readers for his movie reviews, is also an art expert and there is little about the brush and canvas world that is alien to him. Each year our shows have become bigger and better. Last year's was the biggest to that date, and this year's improved on 1946; it was about three times better than the first show we held on the Coast.

When we asked Joe Foster about the show, he handed us the printed invitation to the event and said that would explain matters pretty well. "The success of the previous exhibits," it says, "has made possible this present exhibit and sale for Southern California. These annual sales are establishing a cultural event of major importance and permanent character. By bringing the most noteworthy painters together under one roof, we feel that we are helping the growth of modern art. The artist of talent develops as his audience grows and appreciation for his work deepens."

"It's no mystery," Joe continued, taking over. "NEW MASSES has always been associated with the growth of American art. Take Sloan, Bellows, Coleman, Reginald Marsh, Robert Henri, Boardman Robinson and Glackens: they were contributing editors *while making their reputations. In recent* years we have regularly carried in our pages the work of Gropper, Cikovsky, the Soyers, Dehn, Waldo Pierce, Don Freeman, Evergood, Joe Hirsch and others of international reputation as well as many a younger man who is now being published for the first time to encourage the growth of promising talent. NEW MASSES has always been in the fight for a way of life that permitted full scope for the creative effort. For these reasons," he concluded, "America's leading painters have always been represented in these annual art auctions, both in New York and Southern California."

That's the good word. It gave us a considerable lift and advanced us a considerable step toward meeting that $65,000 sum we must raise for 1947. But before you feel that we have shooed the wolf away from the office door we must tell you that we have still some $30,000 to go, to come out in the clear by January 1, 1948. Less than four months to do it in. That, good friends of NM, is no mean sum, and it requires top-notch teamwork, between us and you, to achieve it. It means getting some thousands of new readers for the magazine (this is the most important and certain of all solutions); it means holding house parties and it means sending NM whatever contribution you can. We will be having more to say on the all-important matter of subs in a forthcoming issue.

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YOU'RE WRONG ABOUT THE FARMERS

If you think that the farmers are solid with Republican reaction, just look at these facts.

By LEM HARRIS

THERE is plenty of evidence accumulating that reaction's influence over America's farmers is far from solid. Of course the press, both city and rural, does a good job of obscuring evidence of this sort, but some of it slips in. For example, a Gallup poll in July reports a sharp swing of farm sentiment against the Republicans, big enough to deserve headlines which are still to be printed. Whereas other population groups—manual workers, white collar workers, business and professional people—have all remained within one percent of last fall's actual vote, the number of farmers who would vote Democrat has jumped from forty-eight percent in the last election to a Gallup estimate of fifty-eight percent this July.

Unquestionably a major factor in this sensational shift is the widespread resentment of farmers against the Republican-led campaign to cut all useful farm agencies down to the bone while corporations continue to get tax refunds amounting in 1947-48 to more than two billions. Nor has it escaped the farmers' notice that the reckless dropping of price controls has permitted giant corporations to reap a bonanza. Even though farm income reached a peak last year, there is widespread uneasiness among farmers as they see consumer income evaporating and foreign buying power dependent upon continued US loans. Last year, when the OPA was under attack, farm sentiment was for continuing OPA—a fact which was concealed from the public. In the midst of the fight, the Iowa poll, for example, showed a sixty percent vote *for* retaining price control.

Spot surveys in rural communities are turning up more indications of a like nature. Thus a study of downstate Illinois showed that farmers there are united in demanding lower power rates. They have learned that south of the Ohio River, where TVA rates apply, farmers are charged much less. This fact looms larger than a Senator's charges that "public power is socialism," especially since rural electrification cooperatives are common in Illinois, and very much appreciated.

However, only one of the national farm organizations has consistently championed this progressive farm sentiment. The National Farmers Union alone of the organized farm groups jumped in on the price-control fight, fought the Taft-Hartley anti-labor bill, opposed the farm appropriation cuts, and is demanding the Missouri Valley Authority project become a reality. The leadership of the Farm Bureau, on the other hand, supported the Taft-Hartley measure, and even with respect to the farm appropriation cuts made it easy for Congressman Taber to swing the knife by urging that all farm agencies be turned over to the Bureau-dominated Extension Service. After this proposal, Bureau President O'Neal's wail (for the record) that they have "cut the heart out of the farm program" comes with ill grace.

Continuing its progressive work, the recent educational conference of the National Farmers Union, attended by two hundred of its leading people, issued a call for united action with "churches, fraternal, labor, commercial and civic groups, other farm organizations and all liberty-loving people, to oppose with all constitutional means at their disposal these destructive violations of democratic rights at home and abroad, which are clearly a step toward national and world-wide corporate totalitarianism."

The violations of democratic rights referred to in the statement included the launching of "a witch-hunt through the Federal Bureau of Investigation"; the bypassing of the United Nations "to give support in various parts of the world where our cartelists have special interest to undemocratic regimes" . . . for the purpose of creating "a corporate imperialism in the world more virulent and vicious than any colonial imperialism in the past"; the proposed use of "billions of American dollars to impose this new imperialism on the world while at home we are curtailing farm programs, such as rural electrification, school lunch, aid to disadvantaged family farmers. . . ."

THE emergence of the Farmers Union today as the leader of rural progressivism is the result of a long process of development. This process has been speeded up by the attacks of reaction against the farmers' institutions and their living standards. For example, the well-financed campaign to tax the life out of farm cooperatives has made the Farmers Union National Grain Terminal Association one of its special targets. Since the grain trade

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and milling interests head the association for taxing cooperatives, the special interest involved is apparent. Furthermore, the history of the Grain Terminal Association typifies the kind of cooperative institution which big business objects to most vociferously. The GTA was originally put on its feet with aid from the Roosevelt administration. The present institution is housed in a newly-completed million-dollar edifice in St. Paul, and has a liquid reserve of $10,000,000—making it a giant among farm cooperatives, even though still a pigmy when compared with some of the privately-owned corporations.

Under the direction of a board of farmers who work their own farms, the cooperative has contributed resources and personnel to the building of the membership of the Farmers Union. Corporation-inspired attacks on the GTA have led M. W. Thatcher, general manager, to fight back by mobilizing farm sentiment against entrenched reaction. Before the educational conference he went out of his way to warn farmers against being seduced by Red-baiting. Putting his own twist on the matter, he said:

"In Russia they got rid of what they had on top, knowing they could not do worse. The Communists have a right to communism in Russia, and I would fight for their right [applause]. But I don't want it here [no applause]. . . . Class legislation to emasculate the Bill of Rights and free speech is what we don't want. . . . The next thing they will say is that you can't be a Baptist or a Catholic, and I will fight that one too."

In realistic fashion, Thatcher showed how monopolies bear down on farmers. Similarly the big political parties, he said, are entrenched behind legal barriers making it most difficult to organize a new one, "yet on the inside both parties are now the same."

Then, as is often the case in the anti-capitalist speeches of many farm leaders, a good head of steam which these facts generated was allowed to escape with a mild hiss. Thatcher's remedy was to oppose America's entrenched monopoly power with a growing system of cooperatives. He pictured cooperatives controlling the nation's food distribution and developing strength enough to break monopolies. One might suppose from this that the mere organization of a cooperative guarantees an anti-trust policy. But this is not true, since the bulk of America's big cooperatives have found it convenient to throw in with the trusts, and in fact supinely become instruments of the trusts. Look at New York's Dairymen's League, or Minnesota's Land o' Lakes or California's Fruit Growers' Association or nearly all Farm Bureau cooperatives, and we see cooperatives which never even murmur against grossly inequitable marketing systems whereby food processors fatten while producers starve.

Clearly the cooperative movement by itself cannot conduct a struggle to eliminate the rule of big business. Only one power is capable of taking this historic step forward—the power of the organized working class in alliance with the depressed two-thirds of the farm population. Insofar as farmers' cooperatives will promote this alliance, they are contributing to the abolition of monopoly rule.

THIS year, still another stronghold of the Farmers Union has come under reaction's sharp attack. North Dakota has the largest Farmers Union membership, some 35,000 families, who carry on the militant anti-mo-

A Quiz Kid Wants an Answer

OSWALD: Pop, what's a satellite?

POP: A satellite, Oswald, is a country named Bulgaria or Yugoslavia or Hungary or Czechslovakia or Rumania because it is no longer free and independent, but gets its orders from you-know-who.

OSWALD: What's "free and independent," Pop?

POP: Well, take Greece, for example. Greece was the first democracy in the world and if we have anything to say about it, it will be the last. On this subject of freedom and independence, let me enlighten you, Oswald, with some choice quotations from the columns of Athens' leading newspaper, the New York *Times*. It's about the Greek governmental crisis and how a man named Constantin Tsaldaris, who has no iron curtain on his windows, agreed to enter what the *Times* calls "a broad coalition government under a neutral prime minister." Says the *Times*:

"Mr. Tsaldaris thereby abandoned his previously declared intention of forming an all-Populist party government that might be broadened later, and surrendered to the desires of Dwight P. Griswold, director of the United States aid mission to Greece, of Ambassador Lincoln MacVeagh, and also of the King."

Dwight P. Griswold and Lincoln MacVeagh, as you have no doubt learned in your civics course, Oswald, are the leading statesmen of Greece.

The next day, Oswald, everybody decided to put together again the old Humpty Dumpty cabinet that had fallen—that is, everybody that is anybody in Greece. They pleaded with the former premier, Demetrios Maximos, to become the "neutral, non-party" premier of the new cabinet—I mean, the old cabinet. Says the *Times*:

"They did their pleading in the Hotel Grande Bretagne over the dinner table, at which United States Ambassador Lincoln MacVeagh and Dwight P. Griswold, head of the American aid mission, also were guests."

You see, Oswald, Mr. MacVeagh and Mr. Griswold eat dinner regularly—in fact, every day.

Further on the *Times* tells us that "General Zervas, extreme right-wing instigator of the mass arrests," who was trying to get his old job back as Minister of Public Order, "departed from the party leaders' conference for an hour to visit Ambassador MacVeagh 'to get a certificate of good character'. . . ."

So you see, Oswald, the difference between being a satellite and being free and independent.

OSWALD: Uh-huh.

POP: Now run along, Oswald, and play with your new Arabian oil drilling set.

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CALIFORNIA WEATHER

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nopoly tradition of the Northwest. President Glen Talbott, who is also chairman of the national executive board of the union, tried for years to steer a course which would permit the North Dakota Farmers Union to look after its own affairs with a minimum of attention to state and national political questions. Recently, however, the organization was blasted from this sideline position. This year a Republican state legislature tried its hand at advancing from the "standard" NAM anti-labor bills to the next logical step, a package of anti-farm-cooperative measures. The directing hand of private enterprise could not have been more obvious: the attorney charged with steering through the legislature measures aimed at hamstringing Farmers Union cooperative insurance activities was also retained by several private insurance companies.

Faced with a direct threat against some of its most important institutions, the North Dakota Farmers Union went into action. At first the insurance company attorney warned Talbott that if he tried to use his organization to fight the measures, he would get "a million dollars' worth of bad publicity" for his efforts. Talbott swept this threat aside and proceeded to arrange a daily hook-up with three state radio stations, from which he sent out the alarm to the membership. In response to Talbott's call, the farmers came pouring into Bismarck. For the last ten days of the legislature's session there were at all times from 150 to 500 farmers on hand, crowding the hearing rooms, buttonholing every legislator, demanding that every member declare himself on the anti-cooperative bills.

At one point a State Senate committee demanded from Talbott the complete list of his membership. He refused on the grounds that such a list was not germane to the investigation of a cooperative insurance institution. The committee even obtained a special resolution from the Senate empowering them to subpoena the membership list. Talbott, to his credit, still refused, accepting the risk of a jail sentence for contempt rather than turn the list over to hostile hands.

Talbott's firmness won out. The pressure of the farmers changed the obvious intention of over half the Republican Senators, and the measures failed. Though the anti-labor bills passed, they are inoperative due to the fact that the necessary number of signatures were obtained to refer them to the vote of the people at the next general election.

Talbott drew important conclusions from the experience. Over the radio he announced that "he saw the ugly face of fascism in North Dakota." He stated that it is no longer possible to settle back into the old routine. "I am fighting mad. I expect to stay mad. I hope our members will stay mad. We have been left no other choice but to carry the attack to the enemy."

In his report to the Farmers Union conference, Talbott expressed regret that while the fight was centered on the cooperatives, the anti-labor measures were slipped through. He spoke of cooperation with labor as a settled policy of the Farmers Union even though some members are still asking questions about whether the Farmers Union is not too "pro-labor." Talbott added that because the union takes a progressive stand, there are those who ask if this is not a Communist position. Then he went on to explain the stand he has taken when anyone raises the Communist issue. He told of a convention of Lutheran ministers from eight states who had invited him to address them. After his talk he was asked several questions about communism in relation to the Farmers Union. Of special interest was his answer to a question as to whether there were any Communists in the North Dakota Farmers Union. To this he replied that he knew of at least three, who are "personal friends of mine and good members of the Farmers Union. Under our constitution, if a person is a farmer, minister or school teacher, he or she is welcome in the Farmers Union." He emphasized that the Farmers Union asks no religious or political questions of its members.

FROM the point of view of statesmanship, James Patton, national president of the Farmers Union, deserves his position of leadership. He sees clearly the looming menace of American fascism. "We went to war against corporatism and Nazism," he stated at the educational conference, "and now we wind up with the greatest concentration of military and corporate power ever seen. . . . Fascism threatens, and we must fight fascism wherever it threatens. . . . Some think that we can compromise by yielding on points like social security and farm security. Any yielding is just another walk to Munich."

Striking out at the current anti-Communist campaign, Patton warned against the enemy-inspired tactic of "atomizing" progressive groups by promoting dissension on ideologies. He warned against an infiltration process, "which is not left-wing infiltration," but which is actively at work in labor and farm organizations, discrediting good men, singling out the best leaders for vilification, creating disastrous divisions. Patton concluded by calling for action to meet the threat. "We must get our tails up over the dashboard. . . . We need an American radicalism, like the Populists except modern, beyond the New Deal. There is immediate need for a joint council between ourselves and major labor groups."

Implementing these statements, the Farmers Union has taken steps to organize its forces for political action in cooperation with the political action forces of labor. Talbott and his state board have launched the Farmers Union Progressive Alliance. Minnesota is following suit.

These are some of the rural currents which explain the shifting of farm sentiment away from Republican reaction. This trend is real and growing. It constitutes potential strength for the building of a new anti-monopoly party to challenge the domination of the two parties of big business. The development of a progressive agrarianism, allied with the workers, is essential in the forging of a nationwide people's coalition in the coming period.

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Jews? *NO!* Nazis? *YES!*

How the quotas barring refugees are by-passed to admit Nazi scientists to the US.

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

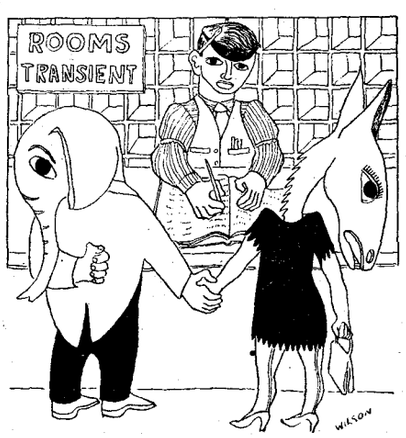
THERE is a special Washington vocabulary which dehumanizes both its users and the people about whom the tissue of abstractions and categories and conditions is woven. When one cuts through the labyrinth of words popular in Washington ("directives," "releases," "processing," "implementing") it is shocking to find that there are living, breathing, human beings involved. When someone like Rep. Adolph J. Sabath, of Chicago's west side—where Czechs and Poles and Irish and Italians are quite definitely living human beings and think the word "processed" comes from the stockyards—acts as if a government directive were more than something to provide copy for columnists, it's puzzling. "Judge" Sabath has been in Congress longer than anyone in the House and has the youngest mind in House or Senate. When he speaks he makes things simple, whereas the science, art, code and mores of Washington revolve around one thing: making everything complicated and mysterious.

I found Judge Sabath, with his bright, shoe-button eyes, his white mustache and hair trimmed to perfection, puffing a cigar and sizzling over the *Exodus* scandal. It was the afternoon that patient, over-middle aged women and zealous young students picketed the British consulate with signs which read, "End the Exile of the Exodus Refugees!" and "No American Dollars to Support British Tyranny!" (Organized by the American Zionist Emergency Council, it was duplicated before British consulates in New York, Texas and elsewhere.)

Judge Sabath raked Britain up one side and down another. He had long been aware that she violated her pledges, that she treated the Jewish people inhumanly, but "I never dreamed that her inhumanity would go so far." He spoke of the aged and the children and the mothers "herded on those three ships," the "people who don't seek anything except to go to their homeland" in Palestine. England's only reason for this inhuman treatment, he found, was "to retain control of Egypt and the adjacent territory including Palestine" for foreign commerce, and to develop oil in Palestine. As for us, "it's unfortunate we're playing politics and giving preference to commerce and profits, protecting oil companies assiduously in the Near East—and doing nothing to protect poor human beings who through no fault of their own are subjected to treatment which history will condemn in much stronger language than I am permitted to use."

I laid before him a copy of a letter NEW MASSES had sent to President Truman, with copies to Secretary of Defense James Forrestal and Attorney General Tom C. Clark, concerning the 100 German scientists working away so happily for our Army Air Forces in the hopes of defeating the Soviet Union, so "then perhaps they will go home." [See last week's NM.] These, of course, are presumably only a small contingent of the German and Austrian scientists brought here.

"We seem to be able to get the Nazi scientists over here all right, to enjoy civilian status in government employment," I said. "But at the State Department I was told that even had they wanted to come to the US, which they didn't, these 4,000 Jews being shunted around the Mediterranean probably wouldn't qualify under our immigration quotas."



"You two are married, aren't you?"

The Congressman smiled grimly and clamped down on his cigar. "You were told that?" he asked. "And were you told why we allow not only these German scientists who worked for Hitler, but Nazi maneuverers, fixers and entrepreneurs to come into this country, too? And were you told why it is that so few refugees have entered this country? Have they told you why none of these quotas was filled? Take any country—you will find that the quota allowed under the law has not come in. The Jewish refugees the British are taking back to Germany are probably from half a dozen countries by birth."

And the Congressman recalled that when "that most unfair immigration law which favored the Nordics" was passed in 1924, a bill he strenuously opposed, the reasons given for its necessity hinged on the theory that if too many Southern Europeans were let in it would mean too many Catholics.

ACTING Secretary of State Robert A. Lovett recently told newsmen in response to questioning that he was waiting for facts on the *Exodus* case. (Since then an American Palestine Emergency Council spokesman told me that the American government had "intervened" in the *Exodus* affair, but that it "did no good." It was kept secret, he said, but "we know it was done." Intervention by silent treatment, apparently.)

It is probably because Mr. Lovett hasn't been there long enough, but I feel sure if he poked about a bit he could find someone burgeoning with facts on whatever he wanted. There is no paucity of facts in the State Department, all wrapped up in impersonal phrases, statistics and the like.

It is true that Mr. George Warren, who has more facts at his command on displaced persons than anyone in Washington, told me quickly that he was *not* an expert on Palestine, and opened wide his mild blue eyes in some alarm when I mentioned the *Exodus* refugees. But the amazing thing is that Mr. Warren, whose demeanor is correct and whose language most factual and precise, who explains matter-of-factly that one reason so few

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German Jews are coming to this country is that most of them were killed—only 15,000 to 30,000 out of 750,000 having survived—spoke a few words of feeling about the *Exodus*. It was, he said, "certainly a very tragic thing."

He had said at first, bristling a little, "What can we do about them? Britain has them. They're in her possession. We can assume she will try to land them in her zone in Germany. Of course," he said, with a touch of the Washington language, "there then remains the question of the disposition of the displacees themselves." (Or maybe it was "refugees.")

Then I asked the question that it seems I am always asking in Washington, all the while feeling like a Midwestern yokel as I ask it. "What do you mean?"

He winced. "Why—er—there is a question of whether they will refuse to go ashore."

"Yes," I said, "you mean the stories that Britain declares it will use force and the refugees say there will be lots of suicides first before they'll land in Hamburg?"

Then it was that he sighed and said it was a tragic thing.

I turned to a page in the 188-page "Report on Palestine" recently issued by the Library of Congress which recites all the various steps in reports by commissions and committees and Britain's pledges to Arabs, and contradictory pledges to Jews, and a good many of our own, and read the following to him: "The President indicated that the government of the United States was prepared to assume technical and financial responsibility for the transportation of these immigrants from Europe to Palestine." This was from a State Department bulletin Aug. 4, 1946, more than a year ago. Why then, I began, with Mr. Warren's factual but not unkindly eye on me, why couldn't we do something—.

"Because that was never implemented," he replied.

We went back to the question of why more of the surviving victims of Hitler's terrorism do not get into this country, while Nazi scientists are here working for the government and safe from witch-hunts, apparently — and even anticipating applying for citizenship, according to an Army release. Mr. Warren knew nothing of the scientists but said he presumed they were here under temporary visas.

(At the Justice Department, I was told that they did not enter through visas, that it would be through the War Department.)

Mr. Warren is the US representative on the preparatory commission for the International Refugee Organization. He has been the State Department's adviser on displaced persons since 1944. He attended two conferences at Lausanne this year. The IRO will act as "purely a service organization," running displaced persons camps, repatriating refugees and settling them in countries which wish to have them and where they want to go. Would it be able to investigate any complaints lodged by persons who resented such things as the British treatment of the *Exodus* refugees or our opposite treatment of Nazi scientists?

Would it suggest revised quotas?

Mr. Warren looked at me. "No such powers," he said. "What would become of the IRO," he said patiently, "if we criticized any government's immigration policies? Governments are more sensitive over their immigration laws than anything else."

But he did have facts. From March, 1946, when the consuls were set up in various countries for the first time since the war to issue visas, to June 30, 1947, the United States has taken in a total of 21,000 refugees. We could have admitted under the law 39,000. This, he explained, was a total of quotas of nationalities that predominate among displaced persons. It was because so few Jews in Germany were born there, and thus could qualify under our laws for the higher quotas allotted to Germany and Austria, that the total number of refugees admitted was so low. Other quotas are being exhausted, he claimed. But I learned that in the fiscal year 1945-46, the latest figures I could get from the Immigration Bureau (now under the Justice Department), only 4,144 of Poland's quota of 6,524 entered, and no country's was exhausted.

"I went to one of those barbershops that give haircuts to suit your personality."

When I asked if the State Department didn't have any discretionary powers which would allow it to give a priority to Jewish victims of Hitler from the different countries, Mr. Warren smiled tolerantly. No, he said, "first come first served." That was the law.

Some persons had estimated that 11,000 of the 21,000 admitted were Jewish, he went on; but that was only an estimate, probably inaccurate, and probably obtained from the various countries themselves. No breakdown was made in the statistics. Only if the applicant happened to put down that he was Jewish was any record made of it.

"Isn't it true that the German applicant for a visa must qualify as an anti-Nazi?" I asked.

"Under the President's directive of December 24, 1945, yes," said Mr. Warren.

So, apparently, to dodge this regulation the Army just brings over a batch of scientists without any visas, and that saves them from making false statements which later, if real anti-fascists become the dominant force in this country again, might cause them to be tried.

At the War Department I was told by a public relations man that it would be "pretty foolish" to require these German scientists to fill out the loyalty questionnaire as it was "altogether a security problem." He said that doubtless other provisions were being taken to insure security where they were concerned, such as that they were perhaps being watched night and day. Which wouldn't hold a candle to what truly loyal American government workers are experiencing in many cases.

In a release from the Federation of American Scientists for publication last March 24 excerpts from a letter to the President from the Federation pointed out that the German scientists imported by our Army were approved by the Gestapo for key war research and thus obviously did not oppose Nazi aims.

"Any favor extended to such individuals, even for military reasons, rep-

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resents an affront to the people of all countries who so recently fought beside us," the letter concluded. "We therefore respectfully urge that the use of Nazi scientists by the armed forces be held to an absolute minimum, that none of them be granted citizenship, that none of them be given employment in industrial or academic installations, and that all of them be sent back to Germany as soon as possible."

W. A. Higginbotham, executive secretary of the Federation, said in the same release that an inquiry to the War Department brought a reply that, so far as citizenship went, the German scientists will "in general" be subject to the usual immigration regulations.

However, a War Department release on the German scientists of last December 4 said that "many of them have earned the right to apply for immigration visas" and "many are eager to begin processing for American citizenship." Does their brazen pursuit of the Hitler objective of destroying the Soviet Union constitute earning the right to apply for immigration visas that so many of Hitler's Jewish victims are unable to obtain?

PALESTINE: Two Plans

OUR attitude toward UNSCOP's two plans for Palestine rests on the firm belief that the best solution would be a dual state where Arabs and Jews would live side by side as equals. This has been first principle with us. It is our strong belief, too, that a dual state can prosper and realize a full measure of independence provided all imperialisms are expelled—in this instance the British and their covert American supporters. With this as the angle of approach we cannot completely endorse—or reject—either the minority or majority reports. The reason is simple. It would be foolhardy, for example, to ignore the fact that the two projects are the work of a group not dominated by imperialist influence and that they represent an international effort rather than the exclusive, oil-minded attempts of either London or Washington. A definite advance over the past can, therefore, be registered.

What are the merits of each plan and what are their deficiencies?

Both reports grant that the Jews have fundamental rights in Palestine; both acknowledge that the Jews are entitled to statehood. They are also in agreement that Arab-Jewish harmony is indispensable and that economic unity—although the reports differ on how to achieve it—is basic to the progress of the two peoples. Moreover, the reports insist on provisions for Jewish immigration into Palestine—but here again there are differences. In this respect the majority plan is superior for it states clearly the number of Jews that shall be permitted entry into Palestine in the next two years.

On the other hand, the majority plan is sadly lacking in that it presupposes an interim two-year period after which Great Britain will relinquish its mandate and help erect the two independent states according to the partition outlined. Imperialism does not work that way and no one in his right mind can assume that after decades of entrenchment the British, or for that matter an Anglo-American body, will simply pick up and leave without a trace. In this regard, the minority approach is better grounded and more realistic. It asks for United Nations supervision in the period of transition.

When the majority plan turns Jerusalem into an autonomous area in the heart of Palestine it is indeed paving the way for trouble. This independent territory could easily become an imperialist wedge threatening both Jews and Arabs. And by the same token the majority's inclusion of the Arab cities of Jaffa and Beer Sheva in the Jewish state and important Jewish communities in the Arab state does not make for stability and peace. Nor is it practical or possible to conceive, as the majority plan does, a joint economic council when both Arabs and Jews will be compelled to live in separate economies. Palestine is not big enough for such ventures. The economic future of both Arabs and Jews are interdependent and a line of demarcation, despite a joint economic body sitting on top, is harmful. Without economic cooperation that is more thorough than the majority report visualizes there is the very serious menace of conflict. Both peoples must develop economic relations between themselves and with the whole of the Arab Middle East, for the Jewish community cannot advance solely by its own resources and neither can the Arabs.

In this context the minority report is decidedly more realistic. Its scheme of federation between Jewish and Arab states rests on the concept of a single economic entity. New avenues of Jewish-Arab cooperation can be opened that would be beneficial to both peoples and eliminate the cross-purposes which separate economies would entail. Jerusalem would serve as the capital of this federal union and it would be the United Nations that would give bone and muscle to the plan. But unfortunately the minority report is foggy on the issue of immigration and its provision for an Arab-dominated parliament collides with the need for complete equality, without which a dual state cannot safeguard the rights of each people.

In essence, then, a large step forward has been taken, but it falls seriously short of the goal for which the Arab and Jewish masses have been striving. It would be folly to pooh-pooh entirely either report or to accept them without qualifications or the demand for improvements. If the need for compromise is discarded the gainers will be the imperialists. They await the kind of contest in which they will again be supreme and out of which the torment of the Jews will mount. But compromise based on the unity of Arabs and Jews working through the United Nations can defeat their common enemies, just as it can force the State Department to stop equivocating and assume a position of honor instead of the abject one of making oil companies happy.

JOHN STUART.

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The History of Hue and Cry: II

After the Salem witches and the Jeffersonians the target became Catholics, abolitionists, organized labor. Thought control at home, aggression abroad.

By JOHN HOWARD LAWSON

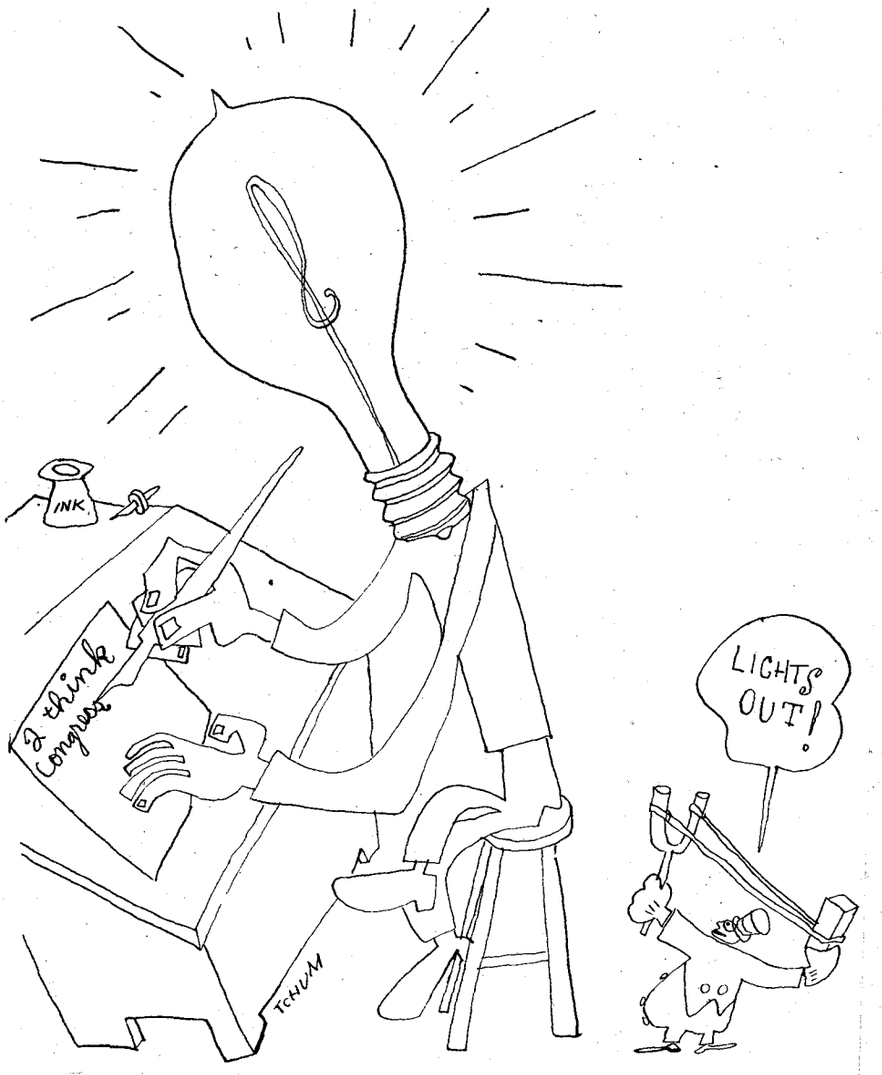
The first installment of Mr. Lawson's article appeared in last week's issue of NM. The concluding section will be published in the next issue.

WHEN Irish immigrants arrived in large numbers to labor in our factories and fields, the special exploitation of these newcomers was aided by a brutal propaganda campaign against Catholics and foreigners. The Catholics were now accused of precisely the same world-wide conspiracy against decency and civil government formerly attributed to the Illuminati. The circulation of anti-Catholic falsehoods produced the "normal" results—the burning of the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown, Mass., in 1834, and riots that destroyed houses, schools and churches in Philadelphia a decade later. Books written specifically for this political purpose, such as *Six Months in a Convent* and the *Awful Disclosure of Maria Monk*, propagated the blatant falsehoods that brought these disturbances—and kept the wages of immigrants at a level which was satisfactory to their employers.

How did these anti-democratic tendencies in the decades preceding the Civil War relate to the question of imperialism and foreign policy? The bankers and speculators who were the most determined enemies of Jacksonian democracy were closely allied with the Southern plantation owners. The same bankers and speculators were also entangled with the British financiers and industrialists who purchased the Southern cotton crop.

A three-cornered web of cotton threads was woven between the eastern seaboard of the United States, Manchester cotton mills and the slave plantations. Nicholas Biddle of the Bank of the United States was so deeply involved in the plantation system and its English connections that, during the panic of 1837, he found it necessary to extend heavy unsecured loans to Southern banks even when the position of his own bank was desperate. These credits were an important contributing factor in the failure of the Bank of the United States.

This complex of power explains the dominant role that the slaveholders assumed in national politics in the decades preceding the Civil War. Southern aims were frankly expansionist. Slavery involved the wasteful exhaustion of the soil and the exclusion of industrial development. The slave system could not exist without territorial aggrandizement. The rulers of the South inherited the Hamiltonian dream of conquest in Central and South America. W. H. Holcombe wrote: "We anticipate no terminus to the institution of slavery. It is the means



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whereby the white man is to subdue the tropics all around the globe to order and beauty, and to the wants and interests of an ever-expanding civilization." (Cited, William Sumner Jenkins, *Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South*, p. 147.)

Langdon Cheves called on Southerners to "unite, and you shall form one of the most splendid empires on which the sun ever shone, of the most homogeneous population, all of the same blood and lineage." (Cited, *Cambridge History of American Literature*, V. III, p. 341.)

Theories of white supremacy and *Lebensraum* for a "homogeneous population" (which obviously did not include the slaves whose labors were the economic basis for the plan) constituted the structure of propaganda that concealed the poverty and degradation of the majority of the white population of the slave states. The enslavement of human beings necessitated the enslavement of the mind.

In *The Impending Crisis*, published in 1857, Clinton Rowan Helper wrote that "The South can never have a literature of her own until after slavery shall have been abolished" . . . "Where a system of enforced slavery prevails a fearful degree of ignorance prevails also, as its necessary accompaniment. The enslaved masses, of course, are thrust back from the fountains of knowledge by the strong arm of the law, while the poor non-slaveholding classes are almost as effectually excluded from the institutions of learning by their poverty."

So THE exploitation of human beings, and dreams of empire that would bring limitless wealth to a small privileged group through further exploitation, coupled with enforced ignorance and the degradation of culture, led to treason, and plunged the nation into four years of bloody warfare. Despite the propaganda of the big business missionaries, there has been imperialism and denial of the ideal of individual liberties in our past. The free people of our country fought and died to preserve the Union and create a new birth of freedom. Even in the last year of the Civil War, when Lee's armies were on the verge of surrender, the South tried to stave off disaster by offering to join the North in an imperial adventure. Francis P. Blair, Sr., who went to Richmond for a secret interview with Jefferson Davis, reported to Lincoln that Davis offered to lead an invasion of Mexico: Davis suggested "that no circumstance would have a greater effect than to see the arms of countrymen from the North and the South united in a war upon a foreign power." (John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, A History*, Vol. X, pp. 101-104.)

One can imagine the sorrowful wonder in Lincoln's eyes when he heard this fantastic proposal. It was not for this that our young men had died at Gettysburg and stormed the heights of Missionary Ridge.

But as we know, there were many men in the North, including men in positions of great power, who favored the Southern cause. Paradoxically enough, the industrial and financial interests that derived major benefits from the Northern victory found it to their advantage to prevent the full unfolding of the logic of the victory. They were afraid that the emancipation of all labor, from the bondage of poverty as well as from the chains of slavery, which Lincoln had profoundly recognized as the aim of the war, might be carried to a point that would endanger the profits of industrial expansion.

So the weapon of propaganda, the white supremacy myth that had inspired the South, was not abandoned when the Confederate armies laid down their arms. A campaign of distortion and prejudice that has seldom been equalled in history was launched to discredit the democratic Reconstruction of the South. With the abandonment of Reconstruction in 1876, the old alliance of Northern business interests and Southern plantation-owners was reestablished. The Northern Captains of Industry were now the senior partners in the alliance. They

portside patter

By BILL RICHARDS

Doris Duke's latest husband smoked a cigarette all through the marriage ceremony. A lucky strike any way you look at it.

•

Senator McCarthy says that if Congress can't find a solution to the housing problem "we ought to resign and go home." There are many who feel that this Congress should merely resign and then be told where to go.

•

A Londoner has suggested a week of mourning when Princess Elizabeth marries her Greek Royalist. It should be known as the dark days of impending groom.

•

The American Legion has gone on record in favor of sending American troops to Greece should the occasion arise. Irate New Yorkers are only too willing to agree—providing the troops consist of Legionnaires equipped with water pistols.

•

On his coming tour of the West, Taft will attempt to justify his anti-labor legislation. Never before in history has a candidate started a campaign with so many strikes against him.

British women have been told they will have to keep their skirts very short because of the shortage of materials. However, there is a note of optimism —the end may soon be in sight.

•

A Japanese fortune teller predicts that MacArthur will be the next President. There are no limits to the General's achievements as long as he has a yen for such things.

•

The United States is urged by Bevin to distribute its gold supply to aid Europe's faltering economic machine. Some claim it will also take the Knox out of our own machinery.

•

It is estimated that one of every eight Congressmen will go abroad this year at the taxpayers' expense. So far the House Un-American Activities Committee has shown little interest in this costly bunch of fellow travelers.

•

An orchid hunt planned by President Truman at Rio was called off because of rain. It might be suggested that Truman devote his time to hunting olive branches instead.

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found the ideology of white supremacy extremely useful in implementing their domestic and foreign policy. As immigrants entered the country in increasing numbers to serve the needs of our vast industrial machine, suspicion of foreigners and prejudice against radical agitators who urged the organization of labor were fitted into the existent propaganda structure. Anglo-Saxon superiority justified an aggressive foreign policy and the subjection of lesser breeds.

The propaganda of Manifest Destiny was an extension of the earlier Southern demand for territorial expansion.

Josiah Strong wrote in 1885: "This race of unequaled energy . . . the representative, let us hope, of the largest liberty, the purest Christianity, the highest civilization—having developed peculiarly aggressive traits calculated to impress its institutions upon mankind, will spread itself over the earth. If I read not amiss, this powerful race will move down upon Mexico, down upon Central and South America, out upon the islands of the sea, over Africa and beyond." (Cited, Julius W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1898*, p. 6.)

And John W. Burgess, most eminent historian of the period, advocated an autocratic state and pointed to the manifest superiority of the Teutonic race. He opposed "participation of other ethnical elements in the exercise of political power." He said that the Teutonic nations were "called to carry the political civilization of the modern world into those parts of the world inhabited by unpolitical and barbaric races; *i.e.*, they must have a colonial policy." (*Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law*, pp. 44-45. It is only fair to note that Burgess opposed America's war with Spain and joined in protest against the imperialist policy that followed it.)

THE suppression of the strike movements in the eighteen-nineties and the defeat of the Populists were related to the development of an aggressive foreign policy. The authoritarian trends manifested in the treatment of American workers at Pullman and Homestead and Coeur d'Alene were also manifested, for the accomplishment of identical ends, in Hawaii and the Philippines.

Eric Johnston in speaking before the Belgium-American Society, may claim never to have heard of American imperialism, but it was a fateful issue to thousands of Americans who formed the Anti-Imperialist League in 1899, to protest the further development of an undemocratic and dangerous foreign policy. The League soon had a hundred branches. Thought control was invoked to interfere with its activities, and an attempt was made to bar its pamphlets from the mails.

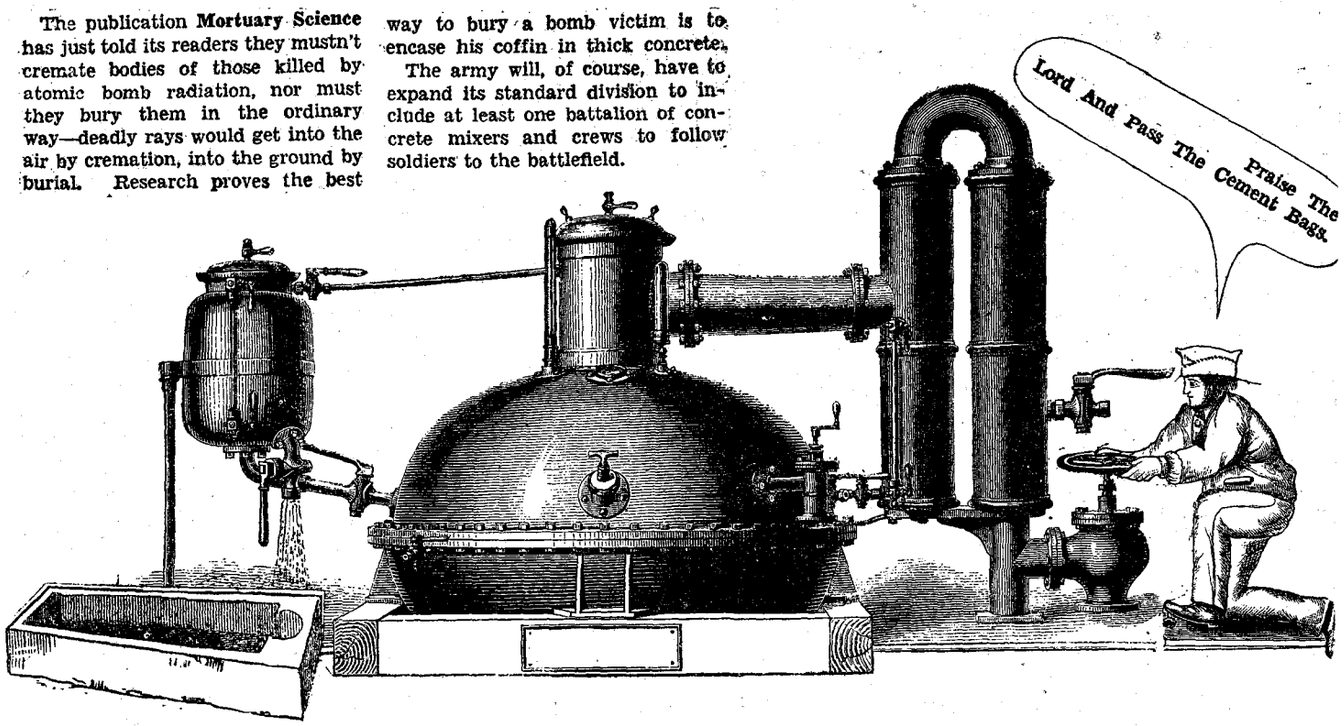
During the years preceding the First World War, American investments in foreign lands, and especially in the Western Hemisphere and the Pacific area, increased rapidly. We undertook direct and forcible interference in the affairs of Colombia, Nicaragua and Mexico. The change in the whole pattern of international relationships that followed the First World War brought a major crisis in American domestic and foreign policy.

In 1919, the most sweeping attempt at thought control since the Alien and Sedition Laws was instituted in the United States. During the witch-hunt conducted by A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General of the United States, more than 4,000 people were arrested and there were 505 deportations. Workers' meetings were lawlessly broken up; private homes were entered and innocent persons were dragged to jail. What was the purpose of the deportation delirium? It was designed to crush the steel strike and other efforts of workers to raise their wages to meet the spiralling prices that followed the war. Louis F. Post, who was Assistant Secretary of Labor at the time, speaks of the event

On Safari With Harari

The publication Mortuary Science has just told its readers they mustn't cremate bodies of those killed by atomic bomb radiation, nor must they bury them in the ordinary way—deadly rays would get into the air by cremation, into the ground by burial. Research proves the best way to bury a bomb victim is to encase his coffin in thick concrete.

The army will, of course, have to expand its standard division to include at least one battalion of concrete mixers and crews to follow soldiers to the battlefield.



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as "a nightmare" creating "a collection of lawless precedents." He also observes that "the whole 'Red' crusade seems to have been saturated with 'labor spy' interests." (*The Deportation Delirium of Nineteen-Twenty*, pp. 89-90.)

There is no secret about the benefits that big business derived from the Palmer raids. With their usual patriotism, the employers of labor formed organizations to foster "The American Plan," which was simply the Open Shop. In 1920, fifty organizations pledged to the Open Shop were formed in New York State alone, and in January, 1921, a convention of manufacturers in Chicago developed the plan on a national scale.

The drive against American wages and living standards instituted by the Palmer raids was accompanied by an increasingly reactionary foreign policy.

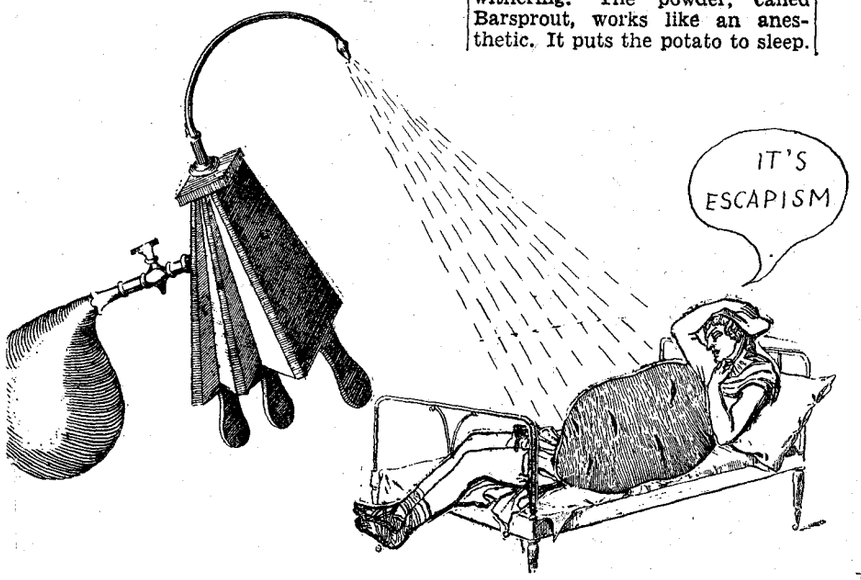
American historians have failed to note the interrelationship between the Palmer raids and the defeat of Wilson's proposal for American membership in the League of Nations. An examination of the Hearst and other papers at the time will show what excellent propaganda use they made of the hysterical attacks on Communists, radicals and alleged foreign agents. Scare headlines day after day warned that membership in a world organization for peace would place us at the mercy of the dangerous foreigners whose agents were already in our midst. Embittered and divided by the attacks on labor, the people voted against the League.

But refusal to join the League did not mean our abandonment of participation in world affairs. On the contrary, we by-passed the League of Nations in order to pursue an independently aggressive policy of economic domination and control of foreign markets. We continued active interference in Mexico, Central and South America, support of reactionary European regimes, suppression of the democratic movement that emerged under Sun Yat Sen's leadership in China, and the economic blockade of the Soviet Union. All of these policies in part disrupted normal trade activities and contributed to the severity of the approaching economic catastrophe.

So ruling groups of the United States moved into the greater profiteering and corruption of the Roaring Twenties. The sacred rights of the individual were safeguarded by the Open Shop and political gangsterism. When Harry M. Daugherty, Harding's Attorney General, was implicated in the Teapot Dome scandal, he blamed it all on the Reds: "I was the first public official that was thrown to the wolves by orders of the Red borers of America." Al Capone was another of the defenders of American ideals. He said: "We must keep the worker away from Red literature and Red ruses; we must see that his mind remains healthy."

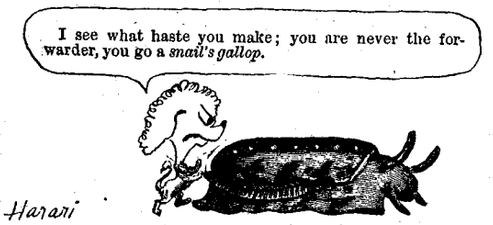
Concluding a great work on American culture in the last years of the Twenties, Vernon Louis Parrington in his *Main Currents in American Thought* described American history as a "ceaseless conflict between the man and the dollar, between democracy and property." It seemed to Parrington that the power of privilege, centered in huge aggregations of wealth, moved toward greater triumphs. He could not know the changes that would come with the great depression—a depression that was guaranteed by the policies inaugurated by the Palmer raids and continued by the Harding, Coolidge and Hoover administrations. Parrington could not foresee the flowering of democratic action that would meet the crisis and bring Franklin Delano Roosevelt to the Presidency in 1933. The vast creative power of the people, that has been demonstrated at repeated crises in our history, was mobilized under Roosevelt's inspiring leadership, to restore prosperity and unite us against the most dangerous attack that the nation has ever been called upon to meet.

SLEEPING POTATOES—A new hormone dusting powder has been perfected for potato shippers to sprinkle over the spuds to prevent sprouting and the consequent withering. The powder, called Barsprout, works like an anesthetic. It puts the potato to sleep.



U. S. and British representatives insisted today that world disarmament be delayed. Britain's Sir Alexander Cadogan and America's Herschél Johnson told the UN disarmament commission they would demand adoption of their own views on "international security" before considering actual disarmament.

Soviet delegate Andrei Gromyko has insisted that the disarmament decision of the UN General Assembly, adopted unanimously Dec. 14, shall be carried out without delay.



Harari

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CHALLENGE to the BARBARIANS

A REMARKABLE article appears in the September issue of *Harper's* magazine. It challenges the whole concept of Americanism and loyalty foisted on the American people by the House Un-American Activities Committee, the National Association of Manufacturers and in large measure by the Truman administration. This challenge comes not from a Communist or other left-winger, nor even from anyone hitherto identified as a New Deal liberal. It comes from a conservative professor of history at Columbia University, Henry Steele Commager, a frequent contributor to the New York *Times* Magazine.

Were this article simply a protest against the antics of the Rankin-Thomas storm-troopers and the loyalty witch-hunters, its importance would be considerable. But it is a good deal more: an examination in the light of American democratic principles and tradition of the premises on which these anti-democratic gentry operate, an examination which reveals that it is they who are disloyal to all that is best in our national heritage. The article is a carefully reasoned indictment, distinguished both for clarity and courage, of the underlying trend in the policies of both major parties and of their Wall Street high command.

"What is the new loyalty?" asks Professor Commager. "It is, above all, conformity. It is the uncritical and unquestioning acceptance of America as it is—the political institutions, the social relationships, the economic practices. It rejects inquiry into the race question or socialized medicine, or public housing, or into the wisdom or validity of our foreign policy. It regards as particularly heinous any challenge to what is called 'the system of private enterprise,' identifying that system with Americanism."

Professor Commager attacks this concept of loyalty as false, "narrow and restrictive," and "irremediably stained by private and selfish considerations." He declares that "it is a gross perversion not only of the concept of loyalty but of the concept of Americanism to identify it with a particular economic system."

"If Americanism is equated with competitive capitalism," he continues, "what happens to it if competitive capitalism comes a cropper? If loyalty and private enterprise are inextricably associated, what is to preserve loyalty if private enterprise fails? Those who associate Americanism with a particular program of economic practices have a grave responsibility, for if their program should fail, they expose Americanism itself to disrepute." And he asks:

"Who are those who would set the standards of loyalty? They are Rankins and Bilbos, officials of the DAR and the Legion and the NAM, Hearsts and McCormicks. May we not say of Rankin's harangues on loyalty what Emerson said of Webster at the time of the Seventh of March speech: 'The word honor in the mouth of Mr. Webster is like the word love in the mouth of a whore.' "

Professor Commager points out that no American hero —not Washington, not Jefferson, nor Paine, nor Garrison, nor Lincoln—could meet the tests of these loyalty crusaders. "True loyalty," he writes, "may require, in fact, what appears to the naive to be disloyalty. . . . We should not forget that our tradition is one of protest and revolt—and it is stultifying to celebrate the rebels of the past—Jefferson and Paine, Emerson and Thoreau—while we silence the rebels of the present."

Professor Commager insists that loyalty "is not passive acquiescence in the status quo. It is not preference for everything American over everything foreign. It is not an ostrich-like ignorance of other countries and other institutions. It is not the indulgence in ceremony—a flag salute, an oath of allegiance, a fervid verbal declaration. It is not a particular creed, a particular version of history, a particular body of economic practices, a particular philosophy."

And he points out that disloyalty tests "distract attention from activities that are really disloyal, and silence criticism inspired by true loyalty." Professor Commager then brands the really disloyal as those who "inflame racial hatreds, who sow religious and class dissensions," those who "impair democracy by denying equal educational facilities," those who "deny freedom of speech and of the press and of assembly," those who "press for special favors against the interest of the commonwealth," those who "would exalt the military over the civil," those who "for selfish and private purposes stir up national antagonisms and expose the world to the ruin of war."

It is significant that Professor Commager avoids the snare into which some liberals fall of making concessions to anti-communism in the fatuous belief that this will strengthen their case against the reactionaries. There is not a trace of Red-baiting in the entire article. Moreover, though Professor Commager does not explicitly champion the right of Americans to be Communists, it seems to us that the inference from his argument is clear that the Communists are part of that American tradition of protest and dissent which he exalts. Moreover, his list of activities that are truly disloyal is confined to the practices of the Negro-baiters, anti-Semites, warmongers and peddlers of red herrings.

It is evident even from the brief extracts we have presented that here is one of the major democratic utterances of our time. That it comes from a more conservative sector of public opinion is symptomatic. The Rankin cabal and the loyalty inquisitors have overreached themselves. They have grossly underestimated the intelligence, the moral fiber, the democratic faith and the powers of resistance of the American people. Professor Commager's challenge to the neo-Nazi barbarians should help fire all genuinely loyal Americans to a renewed battle to annul the verdicts against Howard Fast, Eugene Dennis, Dr. Edward Barsky, Gerhart Eisler and other victims of the Thomas-Rankin conspiracy. It should spur us to wider and more determined efforts to rescue America from the hands of those who today lead it to evil and grief at home and abroad.

THE EDITORS.

Note: Reprints of Professor Commager's article are available at 15 cents each, $10 per hundred. They may be obtained from Harper's Magazine, Dept. G, 49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N. Y.

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London Letter:

BEVAN & BEVIN, Ltd.

By DEREK KARTUN

London (by mail)

LET us put aside for a moment the vexed and complex questions of convertibility, sterling balances, discriminatory trading and dollar shortages, and apply our minds to the interesting subject of Aneurin Bevan. Mr. Bevan—the fiery Welshman with unruly hair and an ability to make a crowd cheer first and think later—is our present Minister of Health. Like everyone else in Britain Mr. Bevan is closely watching the development of this curious crisis which has hit the country but has not yet hit the people. Being an ambitious man he wonders just what effect it will have on his own career in politics.

Mr. Bevan has observed, as we all have observed, the pathetically uninspiring performance in these dramatic days of his chief, and Britain's Premier, Clement Attlee. They used to tell of the empty taxi which drew up outside No. 10 Downing Street, and from which was observed to alight the Prime Minister. This and other cracks have been revived in the last weeks as the tired and colorless Attlee got to his feet in Parliament and told a tense house, in the manner of a junior partner in a minor firm of stockbrokers, that the country faced its most serious financial crisis of modern times; they redoubled as he went to the microphone and appealed to the nation for a mighty effort for more production with all the verve and *elan* of a vicar calling for subscriptions at a charity bazaar. People began to say that these times called for a bigger man, someone who could inspire the nation and call forth all the energy and skill and grit which exist here in such abundant quantities.

This is what people began to think, then; and among them was Mr. Bevan. He too felt the hour called for those qualities of determination, energy, drive and know-how which are lacking in Mr. Attlee. Add to these a touch of Welsh fire and eloquence and surely, thought Mr. Bevan, you would have the ideal prime minister to lead Britain in her hour of trial. The more he thought about it the more he liked it. He even told his friends, among them Richard Crossman, Michael Foot and a number of other Labor MPs of the "Keep Left" group. They, it appeared, liked it too. It must be remembered that since their defeat at the recent Margate Labor Party Conference many of these clever and ambitious young men have been working their way cautiously from the ranks of the really naughty boys into those of the I'll-be-good-if-you-give-me-a-candy group. Master Crossman has stopped shooting pellets at Ernest Bevin and young Foot is being so good people have begun to worry about it.

Mr. Bevan's proposal, if you strip it and stand it naked, was simply this. "You fellows want a change in premiership because you feel Attlee hasn't got what it takes. And you want, to be honest, jobs in the Cabinet. Now I am prepared to take up the onerous burden of leading the nation. If you will give me a hand I'll see what can be done about jobs. We have to have an issue around which we can organize the boys and I suggest that issue shall be steel."

Now the question of steel has caused much genuine distress in the labor movement. We have an obsolete, trustified steel industry with a deliberately restricted capacity which now falls well below Britain's needs. It is a backward, inefficient and greedy industry, and when the Labor Party promised in 1945 that it would be nationalized everyone realized that this was an indispensable part of Britain's reconstruction. Everyone, that is, save the steel owners. They stated flatly that this would be a battle to the death. And they said it so flatly that the Cabinet, mouthing imprecations and savage denunciations of monopoly and privilege, promptly abandoned their plan. Today with the crisis upon us many Labor Party people consider that

As the London Daily Worker sees "The Miner's Burden."

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nationalization of steel is more than ever vital. For this reason it is as good a platform as any upon which to organize a revolt. And Mr. Bevan—now considered to be "The Man Who Wants to Nationalize Steel" within the Cabinet—is busy organizing that revolt upon that platform.

Several newspapers have carried articles by known friends of Mr. Bevan about steel ownership. The same journals constantly ask for a change in premiership. A campaign is being whipped up which is designed to show that the steel program is the answer to our immediate troubles. But of course it is nothing of the kind.

FRANKLY, we are not concerned over-much with the outcome of Mr. Bevan's personal plans. He, and we, must also reckon with the similar plans of Ernest Bevin, the foreign secretary; perhaps of Herbert Morrison, leader of the House of Commons, as well. As the crisis deepens and matures many of the stresses inside the Labor Party will naturally become visible to the naked eye in this way. The party will emerge more clearly than ever as its true self—"all a happy band of brothers; all Cains and Abels," as Douglas Jerrold once remarked in a different context. All this we expected and, by heaven, we are getting it too. But it is just worth pointing out that however desirable and necessary steel nationalization is in itself, it cannot solve our present crisis.

The Bevans, big and little, are using the difficulties of the moment for more or less personal purposes, and steel is proving a useful weapon. No one would mind, of course, a change in the Cabinet if the man who replaced Attlee immediately took the measures necessary to solve our problems. But everyone knows that Bevan has no intention of taking those measures, and would in fact take quite a few steps in the opposite direction.

The essence of Britain's problem—if we still keep off the financial technicalities — is lack of dollar-earning power. The dollars we need, or a good proportion of them, can be earned by increased exports. And we can go a very long way toward closing the rest of the gap by cutting our dollar imports and developing trade with those countries who do not require to be paid in dollars. To earn more dollars we must export more goods. To export more goods we must increase output in the export industries, and to do that we need at least a half million more workers. These workers are, of course, to be found today in Palestine, Egypt, India and back here in Britain, polishing their military equipment and doing guard duty. Need number one, then, is to cut our armed forces by half a million.

Anyone who proposes to solve Britain's crisis and still retain our fantastically inflated army is talking an advanced kind of rubbish. Into this category certainly fall Bevan and Bevin.

All the talk we are currently hearing in London about Cabinet changes is quite unconnected with solving Britain's crisis unless drastic policy changes go with it. And it is changes in foreign policy that are most needed.

Although the crisis cannot yet be seen on our breakfast tables, it has already taught us some of its lessons. People are at last seeing through the fulsome praise that has been heaped by Britain's leaders upon the architects of the famous dollar loan and Marshall Plan. The whole Anglo-American financial setup is being understood for what it was—a hard-headed, tight-fisted horse-trade on absolutely orthodox Wall Street lines. That the loan may have been needed in the first place is a perfectly tenable thesis. But that it was anything but good business for the American bankers and a hard bargain for Britain can no longer be seriously suggested. As news comes in to London of country after country slashing its dollar imports with the ending of convertibility it is realized that dollar-starved Britain has become a purveyor of dollars to most of the world and that the oncoming US slump was being staved off in part by our efforts. People here think that the US needs us perhaps nearly as much as we need the US. And they add that we would need her a good deal less if overseas commitments were cut, export industries modernized, and trade talks resumed with Russia.

Finally, let me say this. Britain is not through. This country, with its industrial skill, democratic traditions and widespread trading connections, intends to pull herself, if necessary by her own bootstraps, out of the swamp. People have been frightened, many of them for the first time, by Wall Street's toughness. As top State Department officials talk about hours in the British mines and the international value of the pound, the old joke about the forty-ninth state is revived. But it doesn't seem like a joke any more. The prospect of taking our place at the end of the grotesque queue in Paris,

"I love a fighter"--LENA HORNE

HOWARD FAST, one of America's greatest people's writers, recently honored me with a visit. It was a great thrill seeing him again. I have unbounded respect for Howard, not only for his writings which have moved me deeply, but because he represents a good healthy social point of view and is fearless in expressing it. Howard has never compromised his views and I like that about him. I've read all of his books and therefore am personally indebted to him for having given me so many hours of enjoyment and intellectual stimulation. His *Citizen Tom Paine* is a stirring work about one of our greatest patriots and freethinkers; *Freedom Road* is a wonderful story of the Negro's fight for dignity during the Reconstruction period; I also enjoyed his latest book, *The American,* which tells the story of Peter Altgeld, one of the most liberal governors Illinois has ever had.

Howard is now under conviction because he worked with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee which refused to give in to the bullying, un-American methods of the Thomas Un-American Activities Committee. I think it's an indictment of our own democracy when a great artist like Howard Fast is persecuted because of his viewpoint. Let me say here and now that I'm for the guy all the way. For I love a fighter.

From Miss Horne's column, "From Me to You," in the "People's Voice."

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filling out innumerable forms and discussing utopian plans for a European customs union, is hardly calculated to appeal to people led by Mr. Bevin to believe that the grandiose posturings of Empire are still appropriate to this impoverished country.

If Britain is to pull through she cannot do it with dollars alone and she cannot do it with Mr. Bevin. We can no longer afford Mr. Bevin. We can no longer afford the cigarettes, technicolor musicals and luxury food which appear to be an inescapable part of dollar loans. If Britain faces that fact and tries living in the fourth decade of the twentieth century instead of the last decade of the nineteenth, then there is yet a future for our people which is not unworthy and can well be prosperous.

"Your Excellency" and "Your Holiness"

An Editorial by LLOYD L. BROWN

THERE was much of interest to the ordinary layman in the recent exchange of letters between "Your Excellency" President Truman and "Your Holiness" Pope Pius XII on the occasion of Myron C. Taylor's return to the Vatican as "personal representative" of the President. One minor aspect of this correspondence, so out of keeping with American tradition in other respects, resembled nothing less than the old-time cracker-barrel sport of swapping whoppers. The creator of the Truman Doctrine started it: "Your Holiness, this is a Christian nation . . ." which desires "that men of every race and in every clime should live together in peace and goodwill and mutual trust." (Not only is the phrase "Christian nation" inaccurate, but it is unpardonable that the language of Gerald L. K. Smith and other peddlers of anti-Semitism should find expression in a Presidential document.) Then the author of the witch-hunting "loyalty" probe went on to boast of his devotion to the concept of "freedom of conscience."

The Pope came back with his own whopper: "From her foundation nearly 2,000 years ago she [the Church] has championed the individual against despotic rule, the laboring man against oppression, religion against persecution."

But there is much more to this than mendacity. These letters mark a further development of the plan which would win Rome's support for a *Pax Americana*, and gain the Vatican's benediction for the "American Century." To Truman's appeal for a "concert of all the forces striving for a world order" aimed among other things to triumph over "collectivist organization," the Pope pledged "whole-hearted cooperation from God's church, faithful custodian of eternal truth."

Fortunately for the cause of world peace as well as our nation's welfare there are those who oppose the promoters of a Morganatic marriage between the custodians of the Almighty Dollar and the exclusive holders of Eternal Truth. As soon as these letters were made public a group of American Baptists, then touring Europe, issued a statement in Rome asserting that the correspondence implied that the US government "is an ally of clerical totalitarianism." This group, which included a number of prominent clergymen, declared that the "proposed alliance with the Vatican in a crusade against Communism" is a violation of the American doctrine of separation of church and state and described the Taylor appointment as a "tragedy."

This denunciation and forthright statement of basic American principle comes as a refreshing change from the shameful silence or mumbling acquiescence with which so many Protestant leaders have gone along with the bipartisan courtship of the Vatican. With some honorable exceptions too many of these churchmen have allowed themselves to be bamboozled by John Foster Dulles and those who think like him into surrendering principles which not only go back to our founding fathers but which were established by the Reformation and the bourgeois-democratic revolution against feudalism. It may be that the visit to Yugoslavia last month of a delegation of Protestant leaders is evidence of an emerging counter-movement. This group, headed by Dr. Guy Emery Shipler, editor of *The Churchman*, contributed a notable service to world peace by their first-hand investigation which disproved the Vatican's charges of "suppression of religion" in that country and verified the guilt of the convicted quisling Archbishop Stepinac.

AND yet, while welcoming these signs of Protestant resistance to the "Holy War"-mongers, it is necessary to reemphasize that this is no sectarian conflict. Nor is there truth in the charges of the Father Currans and Monsignor Sheens that resistance to an alliance with the Vatican is "anti-Catholic." As John Howard Lawson points out elsewhere in this issue, the American democratic tradition which established the principle of separation of church and state also stands as a bulwark for the religious liberty of Catholic Americans against the anti-Catholic bigots. And in this struggle which confronts us today all Americans—Protestant and Catholic, Jew and gentile, Negro and white—have an equally vital stake.

It was in that spirit that the noted Negro educator, Dr. Rayford Logan, professor of history at Howard University, recently condemned the government's cooperation with the Vatican in the game of power politics. In a speech before the Antioch Institute of Foreign Relations, Dr. Logan also declared that "the Red scare in this country is aimed not at communism but at the liberals." This fact which is the starkly simple, yet profoundly basic truth of our time underlies the projected "crusade against communism." For it is not communism or socialism which is the immediate target of the alliance between the Benevolent Brotherhood of Wall Street and the hierarchy. All social progress—democracy everywhere—is imperiled. Certainly the trade unions in our own country, if they do not yet clearly understand the issues involved in Greece, Hungary, Yugoslavia, China, Indonesia or Latin America, have only too vivid knowledge of the campaign against "collectivist organization" at home.

No date has been set for the nuptial ceremony and it may be that the courtship between monopoly gold and papal purple will not be solemnized by formal action. But there is a voice now crying: If there be any among you who know of any reason why these two should not be joined in holy matrimony let him speak now—or forever hold his peace.

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review and comment

RELIGIOUS PASTORAL

Hating this society, unable to accept another, W. H. Auden falls back into the arms of God.

By THOMAS McGRATH

THE AGE OF ANXIETY, *by W. H. Auden. Random House.* $2.50.

SOMETIME around 1940 a new phase in the poetry of W. H. Auden begins. The impulse which formed his earlier work weakens or is curbed by a new system of philosophical generalizations, and his poetry, from being lyric and dramatic, begins to change to expository and static. If the earlier norm was lyric, as in "Spain" or "Consider These and in Our Time," the present norm is that of the verse essay, as in the "New Year Letter" of 1940. Instead of the drama of *The Dog Beneath the Skin* we have the Christmas "Oratorio," which is essentially a commentary.

Most of the earlier system of symbols which Auden used and which were so intricated as to form the functional myth which gave structure to the body of work of the earlier period has now disappeared. The key symbol of this earlier myth was that of the disinherited son. He was a somewhat ambiguous character, an alienated member of the upper classes, as was Auden. He was in search of "ancestors" and the country of man's birthright. At war with his own class and sometimes with himself, his salvation was brotherhood, his prophets were Freud and Marx. He stood in England between the country manor and the "dead straight line of dung-colored bricks," the ruined depression towns of the Thirties.

It is impossible to construct a unifying myth out of Auden's later work. He is still looking for salvation, but the land of man's rightful inheritance has been transferred from the real world where mass action and brotherhood were operative to the country of the soul where faith seems to be the only engine that runs and wherein each man must enter alone. In place of Marx, Auden has substituted Kierkegaard or others of the newly fashionable theological philosophers. Auden's present work is philosophically more individualistic than the earlier, at the same time that his style seems to become less original. For me, he has still a greater command of technical resources that anyone writing in English, but where the earlier experiments seemed to have been produced out of sheer enthusiasm, the forms employed alongside his now commonly used couplets seem more and more like exercises. It would appear that Auden is moving toward the pole of classicism at the same time that he seems to be attempting a desperate effort toward his own religious conversion. His latest book is another marker on the new road he is traveling.

The Age of Anxiety is a "pastoral" poem. It has characters and it tells a story. The characters include a learned shipping clerk, two officers and a woman identified as a buyer for a large store. It is All Souls Night during one of the war years and the place is a Third Avenue bar. The four fall into conversation. One of them sets a topic:

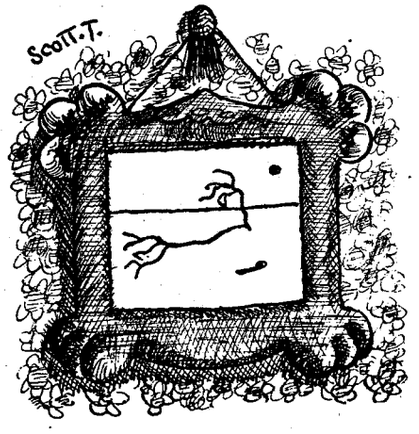
Let us then
Consider rather the incessant Now of
the traveler through time. . . .
(Who) feels he is at fault, a fallen
soul
With power to place, to explain every
What in his world but why he is
neither
God nor good. . . .

This "Curious Case of Cold Feet" is pursued through a description of and commentary on the seven ages of man and proceeds through a series of interior monologues, seven stages of exploration into "prehistoric happiness" which "can only be imagined in terms of a landscape bearing a symbolic resemblance to the human body." The book ends with a party at Rosetta's apartment, after which one of the officers passes out on the bed and the other two men go their various ways.

The poem is "pastoral," according to the dust-jacket, because it "adopts the pastoral convention in which a natural setting is contrasted with an artificial style of diction." It is true that the verse employed here is based on the alliterative method of Middle English poetry and the characters give expression to considerable erudition. In this sense the speech is artificial. But if we think of the Greek pastoral poets, or of the pastoral poetry of Spenser, it is obvious that Auden has jettisoned more of the tradition than he has retained. There is no special reason why the poem should be called pastoral at all, and the term probably makes the best sense if we read it in terms of Christian metaphor.

There is also the question of the time setting. All Souls Day developed out of a pagan ceremony which was based on the belief that on a certain day of the year the dead returned to earth. So powerful was this belief that the Church was unable to eradicate it or displace it by the creation of All Saints Day and was finally forced to inaugurate the feast of All Souls, a day on which the faithful pray for the souls of the faithful departed, for those not yet purified enough for the Beatific Vision. It is a process for getting the souls out of Purgatory.

This is a powerful symbol and one deliberately chosen, but, I believe, there is no real indication of how we should use it. It seems to me that we



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may read the four characters of the poem as the Faithful, performing a kind of ritual for damned humanity, or we may read them as lost souls themselves. Or perhaps we are to take them both ways. This ambiguity indicates that the symbol is used without precision, that it has no real function in the poem and remains as decoration, useful, if at all, as atmosphere.

As a story *The Age of Anxiety* is pretty dull going, but it is not a story; it is an inquiry into the status of the sick soul of man, and if the committee fails to bring in any new suggestions for therapy, at least it turns up interesting pieces of information and a lot of brilliant comment. In a concluding monologue one of the men observes that:

. . . plainly it is not
To the Cross or to Clarte or to Common Sense
Our passions pray but to primitive totems
As absurd as they are savage; science or no science,
It is Bacchus or the Great Boyg or Baal-Peor,
Fortune's Ferris-wheel or the physical sound
Of our own names which they actually adore as their
Ground and goal. Yet the grossest of our dreams is
No worse than our worship which for the most part
Is so much galimatias. . . .

In our anguish we struggle
To elude Him, to lie to Him, yet His love observes
His appalling promise; His predilection
As we wander and weep is with us to the end. . . .

This final conclusion is a sophisticated version of the first assumption of any apprentice preacher. It is a little hard not to be thrown by it, to have to come back to the idea that what the world needs is not really fewer wars or a sane social system but only God after all. Now while a great quantity of fine poetry has been written around this general theme, it seems to me that the book even fails to dramatize effectively its central core of meaning.

It is not difficult to determine the source of this failure to dramatize the poem. The strength of Auden's work in the earlier period came from his use of a set of more or less clearly defined symbols. These symbols, carrying both emotional charges and rational content, enabled him to create a poem chiefly on the basis of metaphor and sometimes, in his most successful work, almost as one extended and elaborated image. A second source of dramatic value in the earlier work came from the ambiguous position of the "hero," the "I" of the individual poem. The character there, although he had chosen his side as a revolutionary, was able, within the limits of the poem, to make the best of both worlds. Actually he *was* of both worlds, and the irony of his position strengthened the poems and lent to his statements an inclusiveness which deepened them and precluded the possibility of sentimentality.

The informing ego of Auden's later work is of a different character. Formerly it was impossible for him to stand between the two worlds of revolution and status quo, so that he chose first one and then the other. In his later work he is on the side of timelessness and God as against the human world which he sees (as does Huxley) existing in Time and, therefore, subject to sin and error. The dramatic elements in his earlier poems, which grew out of his hate for the bourgeoisie into which he had been born and his desire for the revolution, we should now expect to see transposed into the desire for godliness and the hatred of sin and error which corrupts his own poor human soul. But Auden seems incapable of this. He has made the choice for God but it seems that he cannot quite believe in the sin and error about which he talks and which is essential to dramatize religious poetry. Such feeling was possible to John Donne, but for the modern man science has pretty well destroyed that stark sense of sin.

THE interest in religion, which has reached a point of considerable importance in contemporary writing, is the latest of a series of strategies by which bourgeois writers have attempted to evade the realities of bourgeois existence. Not since the nineteenth century has there been a writer of importance who (whatever compromises he may have made as a citizen) has been able in his work wholly to accept the values of bourgeois society. They have all been in revolt in one way or another, but their attempts to break out of the iron circle of capitalist living have generally been of a negative character.

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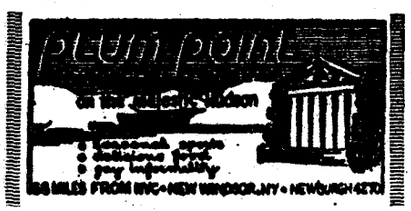

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the art for art's sake theory and the criticism of impressionism. Later developments of this effort to create a tradition independent of society took the form of dadaism and surrealism. In the Thirties a large group of bourgeois writers under the pressure of economic and social events aligned themselves with the working class and helped produce our first notable body of working-class literature. The advances of reaction in England and America have contributed toward the degeneration of the tradition begun in the Thirties. Many writers have realigned themselves; some have become outright renegades and others have simply ceased producing.

The interest in God-hunting is the most recent notable tendency in contemporary poetry. It is represented by Catholics and Anglo-Catholics, such as Eliot, Robert Lowell and Thomas Merton. Auden and Kenneth Patchen (the latter might not admit to the religious tag) are non-sectarian; Karl Shapiro has not, so far as I know, clarified his position. There is, no doubt, as with all literary fads, a group of other writers who are sitting on the fence waiting to be sure of the fashion. This trend is not, so far, of any great importance, and it will probably be no more lasting than any of the previous bourgeois strategies, but it is an entirely unhappy occurrence.

It is a logical dead-end for the bourgeois intellectual, but it is not an inevitable end, nor is it necessarily his final one. The bourgeois poet began by celebrating the individual; he desired the creation of the free man, but as the liberating period of bourgeois society changed phase and began to be transformed into its opposite, the writer could only find the free individual outside or in opposition to society. This produced, in the nineteenth century, a magnificent line of heroes, but since the hero drew his strength from the wish-dreams of the intellectual rather than from any real social basis, he was doomed, finally, to failure. This left either the pathetic victim of petty fate or the individual so isolated that he could allow his servants to live for him. It is not surprising that the bourgeois writer, hating this society but not knowing or unable to accept another, should, in these circumstances, fall back into the arms of God.

In a sense it is an auspicious event. In breaking with the Faustian tradition, the bourgeois intellectual signalizes the total bankruptcy of bourgeois ideological values. Unfortunately the regression may not stop at this point and, having taken such a backward step, it is not difficult for the writer to take greater ones rearward. Further, since the alienated bourgeois intellectual is a natural—though naturally unstable—ally of the proletariat, the movement toward religious mysticism underlines the fact that the working class has once again to capture and give leadership to this group. This leadership can only come with the development of a mature working-class literary tradition and the revolutionary advance of the working class itself.

Finally, the present religious tendency in writing is dangerous to most writers simply as writers. The mystical philosophy of salvation corresponds neither to their own needs nor to the demands of the struggle for the just society which the bourgeois writer, in his own inverted way, also wants. To bring into his consciousness these elements of unreality normally only succeeds in obscuring his view of the world and his knowledge of himself. It is likely, therefore, to weaken his writing. Eliot here is a contradiction only because he has despaired entirely of the world and has no hope whatever for mankind. For those who, like Auden, are of the Pelagian heresy, who are still liberal, who still want to build the City of Man, this religious baggage can only slow them down and cut them off from the world without helping them toward the usefulness and brotherhood which they seem to deny, but which at bottom is still their chief desire.

Rumania: 1907

SEEDTIME, *by Leo Katz. Translated by Joel Ames. Knopf.* $3.

From an Austrian writer living in Mexico City has come one of the best novels of the year. *Seedtime* is set in the year 1907, and is a comedy. Yet it discloses more fundamental truth of what is going on in Southeastern Europe today than the imaginary stories of political plots and malignant rumor-mongering that pass for news in today's press. Stories appear from Rumania wet with tears over the arrest of fascist collaborators and politicians representing a feudal aristocracy arrayed in peasants' blouses. Reading *Seedtime's* story of the peasant revolt of 1907, and its brutal suppression, we begin to realize on how firm a rock the present Rumanian government is

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building when it gives the land back to the people and wipes out a long record of savagely enforced servitude. We know that anti-Semitism lingers in Europe, encouraged by bankers dressed as occupation generals. *Seedtime* brings home to us vividly the long history of the Jewish people as the first scapegoats in the class struggle, and the need that reaction has always had for the weapon of the pogrom. *Seedtime's* story of the old Europe is a most valuable appendix to the true story of what is going on in the New Europe.

To continue in this vein, however, would give a false impression of this book. Its tone is comic, near in style to such hilarious, folk-inspired works as the stories of Sholom Aleichem and *The Good Soldier Schweik*. It is not quite as funny as these books, not as richly clothed in folk fantasy. But if Katz is not as adept as a humorist, he goes a long way to make up for it by being able to act many roles. He writes of the Jewish and the non-Jewish people of Austria and Rumania with equal affectionate understanding. He writes as one who has lived his boyhood among them but gone on to learn a great deal more about the world. He is at home in the petty political life of the town and the council chambers of the Emperor. He has a rollicking laugh and a hardboiled political wisdom. There is a touch of Gorky's *Mother* as well as of *Schweik* in this book.

It would be foolish to give much description of the plot, for as always in the comedy of ideas it is in the incident rather than the line of story that the book's solid matter is contained. The story begins with a description of deep agitation in the Austrian town of Sereth—because the Emperor has announced that henceforth there will be universal suffrage and a secret ballot. The demand for this reform had come mainly from the working class of Vienna, and so to the townspeople it comes as a surprise, as if the infallible had suddenly announced his fallibility. Yet for all the plans of the mayor, who owns the single town brewery, and of his corrupt clique of officials, they find the people not easy to manipulate. Under the clownishness and humility forced upon them by generations lived under a caste system the people retain a mind and sense of reality of their own.

At the same time, across the border in Rumania, a revolt is rising among the poverty-stricken and enraged peasantry. The military officials and feudal landlords try to divert the revolt into a pogrom against the Jews. Austrian politicians and German conspirators hope to make the revolt and pogrom a pretext for military intervention by the Austrians. It takes little imagination to see that Katz is describing the kind of match and fuse which, though it failed to ignite the powder keg in 1907, did explode it seven years later.

These are the two main lines of story of the book. They give the author a chance to analyze, with a satiric pen, the paternalism of the Austrian imperial government and its middle-class liberal pretenses; the iron-hand dictatorship of Rumanian landowning and sabre-wielding nobility; the divisions among the Austrian townspeople, the Rumanian peasantry and the Jewish communities. The author follows this complicated pattern with a sure hand that indicates a long literary background. For all the flock of characters and many lines of plot, there is never any unclarity.

The only reservation I would make in regard to the novel's quality is that its packed events makes it sometimes thin in human texture. For example, there are two characters who might have stepped out of Gorky: Salmon Flicker, the traveling furrier who spreads revolutionary leaflets, and Vassili, the Rumanian corporal who becomes a military leader of the peasantry. Gorky would have told the exciting story of their mental growth, while Katz takes it for granted. But if this novel reads sometimes like the sketch of a not fully realized masterpiece, it is in the great tradition. As a novel of the Balkan people, of Jewish life in the old country, and of European politics, it is a joy and education to read.

S. FINKELSTEIN.

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should evoke the pride both of Jews and non-Jews. The volume should have been indexed. In the second volume, there are statistical summaries of Jewish men and women in the service, and an honor roll, 550 pages long, of those "who died in their country's service, who were wounded in action or who have won awards for outstanding acts of heroism." Carefully authenticated scientific estimates reveal that about 550,000 Jews served in all branches of the service, making up 3½ percent of the total armed forces, which "approximates their ratio in the total population." If anything, the tendency was for *fewer* Jews to receive deferments, since they were in the less deferable groups: urban, light industry and white collar work, unmarried or without child dependents. Jewish casualties were 35,157, of which 8,006 were killed in combat and 18,003 wounded in action. Awards for exceptional service were given to 61,448, as of July 1, 1946. These records are admittedly incomplete. It would be well if trade unions and progressive groups which kept their own records were to check theirs with the list of names published and call attention to omissions (the representation of labor in these voluminous studies was confined to the Jewish Labor Committee, which is not entirely representative). It would also be well if the Bureau of War Records were to compile the data on Jews who served in the no less dangerous and heroic, but largely forgotten, work of the wartime merchant marine.

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES.

THE ONE-SET PLAY

IN OTHER connections I have had occasion to comment on economic or technological factors that have shaped cultural forms. For example, I have pointed out elsewhere that it was their prior publication as long magazine serials that accounted for the length of the Victorian novels. However, when magazines began to be published for advertising rather than subscription income, a more rapid pace in fiction was demanded. This was accentuated by the simultaneous development of the lending library, which called for shorter novels in the interest of a quicker turnover. And responding to these changes in the market the novel dropped, within three years, from an average length of 250,000 words to 70,000 words. With the change in length came less obvious changes in concepts and internal structure.

Such examples may be multiplied. There are, of course, accompanying esthetic and psychological influences making for change in artistic forms. The technological chapter is seldom the whole book. But it is the chapter so customarily ignored that it may serve as restoring balance, now and then, to give it alone, as I will do here, in considering a consequence of high production costs in the theater.

It is by now fairly common knowledge that it costs a minimum of $60,000 to put a play on Broadway. Since the sets constitute one of the major production costs, the one-set play, by a process of economic "natural selection," has come to be the dominant form in our theater. The older type of expressionist play with its multiple sets has been quite edged out. A change in taste has no doubt contributed, but the cost factor has been the decisive one. By 1946 even O'Neill, whose early plays skipped from scene to scene, was restricting himself to the one-set play.

For some playwrights the one-set play has set a challenge which they have met with striking ingenuity and power. For them it has proved a valuable esthetic discipline, making them concise, making them concentrate characterization and action. The classic dramatic unities have been well served by rigors imposed by the one-set play.

There are talents, however, which are clipped when they are so confined. No one form has ever proved the best for all talents and it has been one of the virtues of the amorphous novel form that all talents have been able to find comparatively effective expression in it. Where a literary form dominates too absolutely there is a cost in deformed talent. An analytical student of the Elizabethan drama can see what mutilations occurred when natural prose writers segmented their prose into five beat lines to conform to the literary fashion; and an analytical student of contemporary prose can see how natural poets have engraved metaphor and rhythm into the prose of the novels they must write if they

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are to have anyone read them today.

In a number of single-set plays that I have seen there was clear evidence of cramp and strain. And even in the most successful some incident was forced into the one-set frame that I felt might have proved more natural and significant against a setting of its own. It would be an artistic danger, it seems to me, if the one-set form became so standard that young playwrights came to think, automatically, in its terms; if they imposed them on their conceptions rather than let their conceptions evolve their own organic dramatic form.

I have a great faith in human ingenuity and human persistence. The love of the theater is so powerful that even in times like ours, when reaction has wet-blanketed art along with other activities of the human spirit, there are groups like the young playwrights' group that performed at the Henry Street Settlement and gave New York one of the best plays of the year, Theodore Ward's *Our Lan'*, which Broadway is to put on this season; On Stage, the remarkable young acting company that has drawn packed audiences this humid summer to the unair-cooled Cherry Lane Theater; the Theater Workshop, and others. (*Our Lan'*, incidentally, will be previewed at the Royale Theater on September 26, for the benefit of the Council on African Affairs.)

Should the cost dilemma continue and make the one-set play still more the thing, I am sure the theater will find a way out, and if necessary find it off Broadway. It may be through devices already in use on Broadway such as the double stage level, as in *Yellow Jack;* or lighting that can extract two or even three scenes from one set; or set extensions into the wings, as in *The Iceman Cometh;* or symbolic properties on a nearly bare stage. *Joan of Lorraine* got along very nicely on the calculated makeshifts called for in the play that, incidentally, proved that such makeshifts could serve in any play.

But Broadway's problems have often before been solved off Broadway. If the one-set play becomes problem enough, the solution may also come off Broadway. Meanwhile, for our immediate purpose, it serves as an example of what is so hard for some critics to admit, that the determinant of an artistic form may be that vulgar thing, economics.

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